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E.O. 12356: N/A

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TAGS: PREL, PREF, PHUM, EAD, MOPS, RW, EUN
SUBJECT: MGRW02: [REDACTED]
CRITIQUES EU EFFECTIVENESS IN RWANDA

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: IN A MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR EIZENSTAT JULY 26, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] ACKNOWLEDGED THE IMPORTANT ROLE ECHO, THE EUROPEAN HUMANITARIAN RELIEF OFFICE, HAS IN RWANDA, AND MORE WIDELY AS AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF ASSISTANCE, BUT HE CRITICIZED ECHO'S INEFFICIENCY AND RIGIDITY. HE STRESSED THE NEED FOR EU MEMBER COUNTRIES TO TAKE ON MORE RESPONSIBILITY IN TERMS OF GETTING JOBS DONE, NOT JUST CONTRIBUTING FUNDS. END SUMMARY.

EU EFFECTIVENESS

3. IN RESPONSE TO AMBASSADOR EIZENSTAT'S INQUIRY, [REDACTED] BEGAN BY STATING THAT WHILE THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION'S DISASTER RELIEF ORGANIZATION IS A VERY IMPORTANT SOURCE OF HUMANITARIAN AID, ECHO'S STAFF OF 75 ARE SO FAR REMOVED FROM THE FIELD THAT THEY DO NOT UNDERSTAND THE REALITY OF THE SITUATION IN MOST HUMANITARIAN CRISES. HE CITED THE PARTNERSHIP FRAMEWORK AGREEMENTS MADE BETWEEN ECHO AND ITS OPERATIONAL PARTNERS, INCLUDING
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UNHCR, CALLING THEM "STRAIGHT JACKET" AGREEMENTS, WHICH HINDER OPERATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, IN ORDER TO MAKE A REQUEST FOR FUNDING, UNHCR MUST FILL OUT A 40-PAGE QUESTIONNAIRE DEALING WITH TECHNICALITIES THAT CANNOT BE PREDICTED IN AN EMERGENCY SITUATION, LIKE THE COST OF TRANSPORTATION. THIS HAS A GENERAL CRITICISM, [REDACTED] SAID, BASED ON UNHCR'S ACROSS-THE-BOARD EXPERIENCE WITH ECHO OVER THE PAST YEAR. ECHO'S SHORTCOMINGS WERE BASED ON LACK OF PRACTICAL FIELD EXPERIENCE, HE STRESSED. THERE HAS AN EFFORT BEING MADE NOW WITH RWANDA, HE FELT, TO ADAPT TO THE REAL CRISIS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE QUESTIONNAIRE PROCESS HAS BEING BYPASSED IN THE FUNDS JUST APPROVED FOR RWANDA.

4. [REDACTED] HAS GLAD THAT ECHO PERSONNEL FROM BRUSSELS WOULD BE WORKING WITH UNHCR ON THE GROUND, DEALING WITH

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RWANDA REFUGEES, SINCE THIS WOULD SHOW THEM WHAT IT WAS
LIKE IN THE FIELD. SOME IMPROVEMENT IN ATTITUDE WAS
ALREADY VISIBLE, HE SAID. HE CITED [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] IN THE
PARLIAMENT JULY 26 TO SAY, "NOW I UNDERSTAND WHAT YOU
MEAN ABOUT WORKING IN AN EMERGENCY."

5. ANOTHER POINT OF CRITICISM FOR [REDACTED] WAS ECHO'S
THIRST FOR VISIBILITY. EU STICKERS ON EVERYTHING
CONFLICT WITH UNHCR'S INTEREST IN REMAINING INDEPENDENT
AND NEUTRAL, [REDACTED] SAID. HE REPORTED THAT IN JUNE,
GENEVA NGO'S HAD MET TO DISCUSS PROBLEMS WITH ECHO.
UNHCR IS NOW LOBBYING THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT (EP),
[REDACTED] SAID, AS IT IS AN IMPORTANT PLAYER IN THE EU'S
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HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS. HE HOPES THE PARLIAMENT, FOR
EXAMPLE, WILL PRESS ECHO TO SUPPORT UNHCR'S REFUGEE
PROTECTION ACTIONS, WHICH ECHO CURRENTLY REFUSES TO FUND.

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6. ON JULY 25, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] READ TO THE EP DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE PORTIONS OF

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PRESIDENT CLINTON'S LETTER TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF
POTENTIAL DONOR STATES, WHICH WE HAD PASSED EARLIER IN
THE DAY TO PRESIDENT DELORS AND MARIN. THE AMBASSADOR
ASKED IF [REDACTED] WAS JEALOUS OF THE U.S. INITIATIVE.
[REDACTED] INTENTION, SAID [REDACTED] WAS TO ENCOURAGE THE EU

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TO EMULATE THE U.S., BUT ALSO TO EXPRESS CHRONIC EU FRUSTRATION THAT THE U.S. AND NOT THE EU, GETS THE HEADLINES. OF COURSE, [] HAD ARGUED IN THE EU'S DEFENSE THAT THE EU LACKS A STANDING ARMY LIKE THAT OF THE U.S. IT IS HARDER TO COORDINATE EFFORTS ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS. [] ALSO POINTED OUT THAT TOO OFTEN THE MEMBER STATES ACT IN AN UNCOORDINATED WAY. RIERA REPORTED THAT MARIN WAS PREPARING A PLAN TO STREAMLINE ASSISTANCE EFFORTS WITHIN THE COMMISSION. ACCORDING TO THIS PLAN, [] SAID, THOSE WORKING WITH THE COMMISSION WOULD ONLY HAVE TO GO TO "ONE WINDOW," AND THAT WINDOW WOULD BE ECHO.

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GOF OPERATION TURQUOISE

7. AMBASSADOR EIZENSTAT ASKED ABOUT THE UNHCR DIRECTOR'S MEETING JULY 25 WITH FRENCH PM BALLADUR. [] SAID
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MRS. OGATA RECEIVED THE IMPRESSION THAT THE FRENCH ARE ANXIOUS TO PULL OUT OF RWANDA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. OGATA'S MESSAGE TO THE GOF, [] SAID, WAS THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN TROOPS IN RWANDA FOR NOW, AND EVENTUALLY TO LEAVE IN AN ORDERLY AND STRUCTURED FASHION. HOWEVER, SAID [] IT IS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT WHAT EFFECT A PULLOUT WILL HAVE. HE SAID THE FRENCH HAVE CREATED A "FALSE SENSE OF SECURITY" IN THE SAFE ZONE, AND A WORSE-CASE SCENARIO COULD EASILY INCLUDE MORE MASS MOVEMENTS OF REFUGEES.

WHAT MORE CAN THE EU AND THE U.S. DO TO HELP?

8. [] SAID THAT FUNDS ARE ALWAYS IMPORTANT, BUT THAT IT IS ALSO CRUCIAL FOR COUNTRIES TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY. THE EU HAS BEEN FORTHCOMING WITH FUNDS, BUT LESS INVOLVED IN SPECIFIC PROJECTS. UNHCR IS ENCOURAGED BY SOME INDIVIDUAL STATES' CONTRIBUTIONS, SUCH AS THE GERMAN EFFORT, WORKING WITH THE U.S., TO PROVIDE A CLEAN WATER PACKAGE. HOWEVER, HE SAID, IT IS HARDER TO GET STATES TO ENGAGE THEMSELVES IN THE UN-SUGGESTED PACKAGES THAT ARE LESS "SEXY." AS HE PUT IT, "EVERYONE WANTS TO DO WATER, NOT LATRINES."

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REPATRIATION

9. ASKED BY THE AMBASSADOR WHETHER THE REFUGEE SITUATION
WAS IMPROVING, [] STRESSED THAT A RETURN PROGRAM FOR
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RWANDAN REFUGEES WAS THE ONLY LONG-TERM SOLUTION. HE
CITED A CONSENSUS AMONG NGO'S THAT MAINTAINING PEOPLE IN
CAMPS WAS NOT WORKABLE. HOWEVER, IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER
CONDITIONS ARE YET RIPE FOR REPATRIATION, HE STATED,
ALTHOUGH 15,000-20,000 RWANDANS HAVE ALREADY CROSSED
BACK. UNHCR IS PLANNING TO FIELD A TEAM TO GO INTO
RWANDA AND LOOK AT THE OPERATIONAL SIDE OF SUCH A RETURN
PROGRAM, BUT, GIVEN ITS MANDATE, IT WILL BE VERY

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CAUTIOUS ON THIS ISSUE, HE SAID.

10. REPATRIATION MUST BE ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS, HE
STRESSED, WITH UNHCR PLAYING A ROLE OF INFORMER AND
FACILITATOR TO RETURNEES. STEPS TO SECURE SAFE
CONDITIONS FOR REPATRIATION INCLUDE DIALOGUE WITH THE
RPF TO OBTAIN GUARANTEES, PLACEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL
OBSERVERS TO ENCOURAGE HOMEWARD FLOW, AN ESTABLISHED
UNHCR PRESENCE IN KIGALI, AND THE SET UP OF WATER AND
HIGH PROTEIN FOOD DISTRIBUTION ALONG THE ROUTE BACK, HE
STATED. AN EXAMPLE OF A GUARANTEE SOUGHT FROM THE RPF
IS FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, SO THAT REFUGEES CAN GO BACK TO

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THEIR VILLAGES OF ORIGIN.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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HE NOTED THAT HE WILL LOSE TWO OF HIS STAFF
INDEFINITELY: THEY HAVE VOLUNTEERED TO JOIN THE RWANDA
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EMERGENCY MISSION. HE SAID, RUEFULLY, HE WISHED HE
COULD DO THE SAME IN ORDER TO RETURN TO THE FIELD. WE
FOUND HIM TO BE CANDID, WELL-INFORMED, AND ANXIOUS TO
ESTABLISH CLOSER RELATIONS WITH OUR MISSION.

(DRAFTED:POL:AOLSON; CLEARED:POL:KLANG, JGREENWALD,
DCM:RAW; APPROVED:AMB:SEIZENSTAT)
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